

PREVENTING THE RISE OF FUTURE TERRORISTS

"It is useless to win a war, only to lose the peace"

- Franklin Delano Roosevelt

Over the long term, fighting the war on terror means not only attacking the enemy or protecting our homeland, but reducing the number of people who want to inflict harm on the United States and popular support for the individuals and groups that makes their operations possible. In an infamous memo written by Secretary Donald Rumsfeld last year, he asked: "Are we capturing, killing, or deterring and dissuading more terrorists every day than the madrassahs and the radical clerics are recruiting, training, and deploying against us?" He went on to write, "The US is putting relatively little effort into a long-range plan, but we are putting a great deal of effort into trying to stop terrorists. The Cost benefit ratio is against us! Our cost is billions against the terrorists' cost of millions."

To win the war on terror, our country will have to start putting much more effort into a long range plan to shape public opinion in the Arab and Muslim worlds to help stem the tide of people and funds that flow to terrorist organizations. Our national security ultimately depends on isolating the radical Islamic extremists by presenting a competing and more powerful and positive vision of the future for the people of the Middle East and the Muslim world. It must be a vision built in partnership with the people of the Middle East and supported by a global coalition with American leadership at the helm.

We must begin building bridges by opening dialogue between the United States and the Arab and Muslim world at every level. The United States should make a dramatic and massive commitment, on the scale of the Marshall Plan, to the future of Arab children and to the economic prosperity of people in the entire Middle East.

To accomplish this generational challenge, we will need to inspire a new sense of national service in the American people. We must clearly state the reasons for this commitment and be straight about the costs required to secure the safety and prosperity of the American people. To win this war, we must truly win the peace.

BUILDING BRIDGES TO THE ARAB / MUSLIM WORLD

Public diplomacy is the promotion of the national interest by the United States government to understand, inform, engage and influence the emerging leaders and general population of a nation or region. It is about reaching people, not governments. An essential component in defeating radical Islamic extremism is effectively using public diplomacy to reach and engage the 1.2 billion Muslims across the globe, to convey the values we share and build bridges of understanding between our cultures.

A recent bipartisan Commission led by former Ambassador Edward Djerejian has found that America's public diplomacy efforts are "inadequate, outmoded, and lacking strategic direction and resources." The report calls for a "transformation" of public diplomacy which requires "an end to the absurd and dangerous under funding of public diplomacy in a time of peril, when our enemies have succeeded in spreading viciously inaccurate claims about our intentions and our actions."¹⁷⁷

The Djerejian Commission concluded that, "the United States lacks the capabilities in public diplomacy to meet the national security threat emanating from political instability, economic deprivation, and extremism, especially in the Arab and Muslim world."¹⁷⁸

There is a struggle of ideas happening in the Muslim world, between the forces of modernity and reaction. One school of thought wants to bring the Muslim world into the 21st century, the other, manifested by al-Qaeda, wants to turn the clock back a thousand years. To win the war on terror, the United States must revitalize its effort to engage with the Arab and Muslim world by finding ways to strengthen the forces of tolerance. We must combat the extremists in the realm of ideas, not just on the battlefield.

This will be an uphill fight. According to the Pew Research Center, attitudes toward the United States in the Arab and Muslim world "have gone from bad to worse."¹⁷⁹ The Djerejian Report found that "hostility toward the United States has reached shocking levels."¹⁸⁰

The task ahead is huge, and so must be our commitment. Currently, funding for public diplomacy outreach programs comes to only \$25 million for the entire Arab and Muslim world.¹⁸¹ Bold new initiatives are needed now, before an entire generation turns against the United States. These include:

Increase Arab Speaking U.S. Diplomats

Currently, there are only 54 State Department employees who have tested at the bilingual level of competence in Arabic.¹⁸² Even fewer are able to hold their own on Arab language television or radio. This is an intolerable situation.

The State Department should hire and train an additional 500 Arabic speakers over the next three years. These individuals would be deployed to represent the United States and debate issues in the Arab media and in other public forums. Special attention should be focused on recruiting Arab-Americans.

Support the Voices of Moderation

America's current approach to disseminating information to the Arab and Muslim world is to run a large radio station called "Radio Sawa" and a new television station. We should not focus all our communications resources on just one media outlet and instead need to support regional voices of moderation and independent media.

The United States should create a non-profit "Corporation for Public Diplomacy." The organization, supported by both private and U.S. government funds, would make grants to individual producers and independent, indigenous media channels with the goal of creating and disseminating high quality programming to the Arab and Muslim world.

Build American Cultural Centers

The cost cutting brought about by the end of the Cold War and recent security concerns have drastically curtailed the easily accessible facilities that housed public diplomacy efforts such as reference services, libraries, book and art exhibits, film and television screenings, and cultural performances.¹⁸³ A small effort has been made to recreate these centers that are called "American Corners." They are planned to provide a multifaceted programming platform to tell America's story, especially to the young, through books, periodicals, music, film, and the Internet.

The State Department should commit to the creation and operation of 100 American Corners throughout the Arab and Muslim world, easily accessible to the public and staffed by U.S. Arabic-speaking diplomats and local citizens.

Double Exchange Program Visitors from the Muslim World

Since 1940, over 700,000 promising young foreigners have participated in exchange programs, such as the Fulbright Program which directs a range of academic exchange, the Humphrey Program which brings mid level public service professionals to the U.S. for a year of training, and the International Visitors Program which allows U.S. Ambassadors to invite current and emerging leaders to gain first hand knowledge of the U.S., and the U.S. Citizen Exchange, which awards grants to U.S. non-profits for exchanges with foreign counterparts. These programs cost \$245 million in FY 2003.¹⁸⁴

The U.S. Government should double the number of exchange program visitors that come from the Arab-Muslim world.

Create an Alumni Database for Exchange Program Participants

The State Department currently does not maintain a systematic database of foreign nationals who have participated in U.S. government-funded exchange programs.

The State Department should create a database of all foreign national participants in U.S.-funded exchange programs and ensure that the senior public affairs

officer at each post is given the resources necessary to develop monthly programs to keep alumni connected to and informed about the United States.

Open a Center for U.S.- Arab / Muslim Studies

The federal government has supported the creation and maintenance of the Dante Fascell North-South Center at the University of Miami for the study of Western Hemisphere Affairs and the East-West Center at the University of Hawaii, which promotes between relations between the U.S. and Pacific Rim nations. No such Center for the Arab and Muslim countries exists.¹⁸⁵

The United States should create and sustain a "Center for U.S.-Arab / Muslim Studies." The Center would sponsor research that would encompass many subjects including trade, economics, democratic governance, and security issues. The Center would maintain an extensive program of international fellowships and conferences.

Establish a Public Diplomacy Reserve Corps

*The Public Diplomacy Reserve Corps would recruit prestigious private sector experts from relevant professions for short-term assignments. The Corps would augment overseas operations by offering individuals the opportunity to serve on short-term projects.*¹⁸⁶

Fully Engage In Resolving Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

The United States' efforts to prevent the rise of future terrorists by building bridges to the world's 1.2 billion Muslims must begin with full fledged engagement by the Administration to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This conflict has not caused the rise of al-Qaeda, and resolution of the conflict will not end global terrorism targeted against the United States. Nonetheless, rightly or wrongly, continuation of the conflict is a source of aggravation in the Muslim world, and the perceived favoritism of the United States toward Israel, especially since the beginning of the current *intifada* in September 2000, fuels hostility toward the United States among the world's Muslim population. Furthermore, many regimes in the Middle East use the conflict as a pretext to justify poor governance. Without this excuse, ineffective regimes would be held more accountable for their actions, thus creating the conditions for democratic change in the region. Successive American administrations have been able to maintain a strong alliance and close friendship with Israel, while helping to facilitate discussions between Israel and the Palestinians.

While the strategic partnership between the United States and Israel endures and strengthens, it is critical that the United States be fully engaged, at the highest levels of government, on a consistent and constant basis, in the search for a resolution to this tragic conflict. Our experience over the past three years has demonstrated one certainty: in the absence of discussions and diplomacy, violence fills the vacuum, causing power to shift away from voices of moderation and toward our enemies and those affiliated with them.

IMPROVING EDUCATION FOR ARAB CHILDREN

Winning the war on terror requires halting the rise of a new generation of terrorists – right now. Education is the key to preventing a new generation from turning to the teachings of the extremists.

The failing states of the Arab world face a devastating combination of challenges that include dictatorial regimes with little public base of support, lack of economic progress in a generation, political violence, and a growing Islamist opposition.¹⁸⁷ These unstable Arab states also share the phenomenon of a population explosion in which at least 50 percent of their respective populations (about 280 million) are under 24 years of age. This youth cohort places tremendous strain on the entire infrastructure of the state, especially on educational services that are already poor and declining in quality after a generation of underinvestment. The education gap between the people's needs and the Arab states' resources is being filled by Islamist organizations through their informal network of religious schools known as *madrasas*.¹⁸⁸

The statistics tell the story of a generation of Arab youth at risk of being lost to the lure of a free education at radical *madrasas*. According to the UNICEF Report "State of the Arab Child," 22 percent of boys and 31 percent of girls are not enrolled primary education. For children not receiving secondary school education, these figures skyrocket to 42 percent for boys and 52 percent for girls.

Secondary schools have long been key recruiting grounds for Islamist movements and the inculcation of Islamist attitudes and world outlook.¹⁸⁹ The underlying phenomenon in a number of Arab states is budgetary weakness that has led to diminished public services at a time of growing need. A prime example is that *madrasas* went from numbering in the hundreds to the thousands.¹⁹⁰ The educational initiatives to reverse these trends include:

Establish Global Alliance for Arab Children

USAID is currently offering \$100 million over five years to Pakistan to strengthen its public educational system. Instead of this ad hoc approach, the United States should enlist the nations of the European Union and Japan to offer Arab states significant resources if they commit to education reform.

The United States should organize an international donor's conference, and pledge a total of \$10 billion over 10 years – to be matched by the EU, Japan, Canada, and the Gulf States – for an Arab Youth Opportunity Fund. Funds will be spent directly for operation of primary and secondary secular schools in Arab states that commit to doubling their investment in public education over the course of ten years.

University Scholarships for Arab / Muslim Youth

At the height of the Cold War, USAID offered some 20,000 scholarships for university students to study in the United States. Today the number of scholarships available is down to 900 for applicants worldwide.¹⁹¹

The United States should offer 1,000 university scholarships a year for promising students from Arab / Muslim states who commit to returning home upon completion of their studies. We should also challenge the Gulf States to offer an equal number of scholarships for American students to study in the Middle East. The U.S. should work with our Canadian allies to coordinate and expand this effort.

American Knowledge Library Initiative

The Arab world is currently in relative intellectual and cultural isolation from the rest of the world. Arab publishers translate into Arabic only about 330 books a year, or, for comparison, only one-fifth the number that Greeks translate into Greek. During the past 1,000 years, the entire Arab world has translated into Arabic only as many books as Spanish publishers now annually translate into Spanish. Internet usage among Arab countries is the lowest rate in the world and only 1 in 100 Arabs has a personal computer.¹⁹²

The United States should undertake a massive translation program of thousands of the best books in numerous fields into Arabic and other languages of the Middle East. Recommendations would come from boards of academics in a variety of fields including history, business, economics, sociology, and the hard sciences. These books would be distributed to libraries as well as marketed through local partners. They would also be housed in "American Cultural Centers" and made available to all universities and high schools. The cost of translation is roughly \$5000 per book, making this an important investment in building secular education in the Arab / Muslim world.¹⁹³

City to City Exchanges

The State Department should set a goal of facilitating the establishment of 100 "sister city" programs between American communities and those in the Arab/Islamic world. The programs would emphasize links between educators, students, cultural, and professional groups. Efforts would be encouraged to establish formal links and exchanges between universities in the U.S. and the Middle East.

STIMULATING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

In September of 2001, our attention was drawn to a far off corner of the world – Afghanistan. That tragically failed state had become home to tens of thousands of disaffected youth from the Arab world who were gathered under the banner of al-Qaeda. This holds two important lessons for us as we move forward to win the war on terror:

- We cannot allow states to fail and become potential havens for terrorists
- We must work to expand opportunity in the Arab / Muslim world

As President Bush stated in a letter accompanying his National Security Strategy-

“The events of September 11th taught us that weak states, like Afghanistan, can pose as great a danger to our national interests as strong states. Poverty does not make poor people into terrorists. Yet poverty, weak institutions, and corruption can make weak states vulnerable to terrorist networks within their borders.”

The countries of the Muslim world face enormous demographic and economic stresses. None of them is likely to produce the number of jobs necessary for their growing populations. The primary hope for heading off this potentially explosive situation is economic growth.¹⁹⁴ A group of Muslim scholars recently wrote a study that was issued by the United Nations Development Program. The study (The Arab Human Development Report 2002), talked about the dire situation in Arab societies. In short they reported that in the 22 nations of the Arab world:¹⁹⁵

- Economic productivity is declining. The growth in per capita income has stalled for two decades to a level just above sub-Saharan Africa. Forty years ago, Arab productivity was 32 percent of the North American level, by 1990 it had fallen to 19 percent;
- More than one in five Arabs lives on less than \$2 a day;
- Arab nations spend less than one-seventh of the world average annual investment in research. Achievements in science and technology are very limited;
- More than one in four Arabs is illiterate;
- Half of Arab youths say they want to emigrate.

Since 1980, the Middle East’s share of global trade and investment has collapsed, falling by 75 percent even as the region’s population has doubled. Today the entire Muslim world, with its 57 countries and 1.2 billion people, receives barely more foreign investment each year than tiny Sweden.¹⁹⁶

Governments are under pressure from below, by forces of ethnic separatism and violence, and from above, by economic, technological, and cultural forces that no government can control.¹⁹⁷

These trends clearly show the danger of allowing the status quo to continue. For without American action and leadership, we can expect to see more failed states, and more disaffected youth providing recruits for the enemies of freedom. Bold action is required to reverse these trends.

Since September 11, the President has called for, on more than one occasion, a “Marshall Plan” effort to provide development assistance in Afghanistan and Iraq. It is therefore important to remember exactly what made up the Marshall Plan. In his famous 1947 speech unveiling the assistance idea, Secretary of State George Marshall said that money was needed to reconstruct “the entire fabric of the European economy.” Over its four-year life, the Marshall Plan cost the

United States between 2.5 and 5 percent of its national income. Today that would amount to no less than \$200 billion a year.¹⁹⁸

Since the end of the war in Afghanistan, the U.S. has committed about \$2 billion to the Afghan people.¹⁹⁹ The current total budget for the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) is \$13 billion, far less than 1 percent of the federal budget.²⁰⁰ It is time to get serious about fulfilling this important mission that will help win the war on terror.

In today's world, where terrorists gain strength from disorder, development assistance is a vital investment in America's national security. If we use our power only for self-protection it fuels the fires of resentment. On the other hand, if we use our power, with others, to fight the status quo that mires much of the world in poverty, we earn influence and the respect and authority that power alone can never gain.²⁰¹ The following measures should be carried out:

The Renaissance Partnership

The United States should lead the effort to build a dynamic free market economy for the Middle East that provides economic opportunity for the tens of millions of Arab youth who will be coming of age in the next ten years.

The Renaissance Partnership would be a \$200 billion effort designed to support the development of open and dynamic job creating economies that are integrated into the world economic system. The main principles of the Renaissance Partnership would be:

Work With Our Allies

The United States would lead the effort by pledging up to \$100 billion over 10 years for the Renaissance Partnership. We would call on all the nations of the European Union, the G-8, the OECD, and wealthy Gulf States to join in the effort by matching the American pledge. The level of American support would be conditioned on the Allies matching our challenge.

Set Standards for Performance

One of the keys to success of the Marshall Plan was that the acceptance of funds was tied to developing regional economic cooperation. The United States should expect results from the Partnership that would create the economic growth that leads to long-term stability and peace. Before funds are distributed, partner states in the Middle East must agree, in treaty form, to meet the following standards: transparency of accounts on all projects accepting RP funds; accepting open trade standards by becoming eligible for WTO membership; forming a Middle Eastern Common Market patterned on the early European Community; and open membership for all regional states in the Middle Eastern Common Market.

Set Priorities with the Arab States

*One of the central facets of the Marshall Plan was the requirement that European countries work together to devise a plan for economic reconstruction. As Marshall said, "It would be neither fitting nor efficacious for this government to undertake to draw up unilaterally a program designed to place Europe on its feet economically. This is the business of the Europeans. The initiative, I think, must come from Europe."*²⁰²

The RP contributor states would work with recipient states to identify specific projects that should receive funding. Priority would go to projects that develop an entrepreneurial culture and build a middle class. Examples are: developing technology infrastructure, micro-credit financing, small business loans, teaching business skills, women's education, and building anti-corruption units in law enforcement.

Publicize the Work of USAID

When the Administrator of USAID was asked how much of his \$13 billion budget goes to publicizing the agency's work – he replied "almost none of it." There are some statutory restrictions that limit the dissemination of information about their activities.²⁰³

The development assistance provided by the United States to the people of the Arab/ Muslim world should be widely publicized in those nations. Muslims should see American values in action in their daily lives.

REVITALIZING STABILITY OPERATIONS

The most devastating attacks ever delivered against the American homeland emanated from the failed state of Afghanistan. In the 21st century, we now know from painful experience, that terrorists find haven in failed states and therefore we cannot allow states to fail.

Failed states are countries in which the central government does not exert effective control over, or deliver vital services to, significant parts of its territory due to conflict, ineffective governance, or state collapse.²⁰⁴ Terrorist organizations take advantage of failed states' porous borders and their weak law enforcement and security institutions to move money, men and weapons.²⁰⁵ In the case of al-Qaeda, this international terrorist network was able to set up extensive training camps in the failed state of Afghanistan, operate freely in the failing state of Sudan and conduct illicit trade to finance their operations in the failed states of Liberia and Sierra Leone.

To win the war on terror, whether we like it or not, the United States must become more rather than less engaged in the difficult tasks of peacemaking, peacekeeping and nation building in failed states.²⁰⁶ In fighting the war on terror, there is no part of the globe that we can view as unimportant to U.S. national security interests. We must, therefore, adapt our strategies and tactics to meet this new reality.

There is a long way for us to go. Stability operations have been conducted in an ad hoc manner in both Afghanistan and Iraq, and the painful results of poor planning are plain for all to see. In Afghanistan a tiny international security force limited to Kabul has effectively turned the rest of the nation over to warlords and a resurgent Taliban. As for Iraq, while official U.S. policy since 1998 was dedicating \$100 million a year toward the overthrow of Saddam Hussein, it was not until one month before Operation Iraqi Freedom was launched that the Pentagon assembled its team for the reconstruction of Iraq.²⁰⁷ The belated Pentagon Planning Team reportedly excluded Pentagon officials with experience in post war Reconstruction in the Balkans.²⁰⁸ The results of the failure to plan are clear – massive looting and lawlessness in the shadow of U.S troops (who were without an occupation plan) quickly undermined U.S. credibility with the Iraqi people. We must take the following steps to ensure that we do not win the war and lose the peace.

Finish the Job in Afghanistan

The Karzai government in Afghanistan has a zone of effective control that extends only so far as the reach of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), which is to say only in the city of Kabul. The ISAF consists of approximately 5,000 troops. The UN has declared one third of the nation off limits to aid workers.²⁰⁹ The Bush Administration attempted Afghan reconstruction on the cheap by forbidding the expansion of ISAF and hoping that a new Afghan Army and Police Force could fill the void. Those Afghan forces, however, will not be strong enough to be a significant presence for three to five years. To prevent further gains by the Taliban and increased lawlessness in Afghanistan, the U.S. must take the lead in providing security while waiting for the rise of the new Afghan security forces.

The United States should support the expansion of a NATO-led ISAF mission to encompass all of Afghanistan. The new ISAF should have at its core 25,000 U.S. troops that would be matched by 25,000 from NATO partners. The United States would also provide air transport for ISAF, making it a highly mobile force. Additionally, the United States should channel its aid assistance through the Karzai

regime, rather than around it (Currently, 84 percent of aid to Afghanistan is delivered through foreign donor agencies.²¹⁰), so that the central government can gain resources and establish local control.

Secure Iraq: Transform U.S Military Mission to a NATO Mission

Prior to the U.S. invasion of Iraq, Saddam Hussein maintained control with the hand of a despotic dictator. It now appears that Saddam neither possessed weapons of mass destruction nor harbored terrorists intent upon attacking America. The growing presence of al-Qaeda operatives and other extremists in post-invasion Iraq present the possibility of a future Iraq of increasing danger to our security.

Failure to achieve stability and political reform in Iraq is not an option for the United States. Trading the dictatorship of Saddam Hussein for an unstable state haven for enemy terrorists is unacceptable. The United States must accept the reality of its mistaken assessment of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction and move forward to restore our credibility. When the United States worked with our NATO allies in Kosovo, the burden on troop deployment and reconstruction aid was 15 percent for the United States with our allies contributing 85 percent. Today in Iraq, the American troops make up roughly 85 percent of the deployed troops.

We can ask for and expect troop commitments from our Allies if we share daily operational control of Iraqi affairs with them, and turn the occupation into a NATO mission. An American general would remain in charge of the operation, but would report to the NATO Council, the same situation in which U.S. General Wesley Clark led our forces to victory in Kosovo.²¹¹

Secure Loose Iraqi Ammunition

Today, 600,000 tons of ammunition from Saddam's army have yet to be secured, and thousands of shoulder-fired surface to air missiles remain at large.

U.S. forces must destroy that ammunition immediately or else secure it with surveillance technology and armed guards.²¹²

The U.S. Reconstruction Corps

Security is the absolute starting point for reconstruction: with it, almost anything is possible; without it, next to nothing is possible.²¹³ Afghanistan and Iraq are not the first cases of post conflict reconstruction that are vital to U.S. national interests, and they will not be the last. Throughout our history, the United States has assisted the reconstruction of failing or war torn states. However, the U.S. government remains poorly organized for the task.²¹⁴

A new "U.S. Reconstruction Corps," modeled on FEMA, would be responsible for rapidly mobilizing U.S. reconstruction experts from federal, state, and local levels, as well as the private and non-profit sectors. The Office would build and maintain "on call" lists of reconstruction experts, including retired and active duty police, who are able to deploy briefly, but on a moment's notice. The Direc-

tor of the U.S. Reconstruction Corps would be based at, and have a seat on, the National Security Council, and report to the Secretary of State.

Assemble U.N. Reconstruction Corps

The United States should help the United Nations assemble an “on call” list of international experts who can be gathered and quickly deployed into failed states to restore order, head off humanitarian disasters and jump start economic reconstruction. The Corps will include police, judges, correctional officers, health care workers, and civil administrators, many of whom have worked in the U.N.’s other stabilization missions.

Create a U.S. Army Division for Stability Operations

The American military faces difficulty when transitioning from war fighting to the daily tasks of maintaining law and order in the midst of civilian populations. Several nations have corps of lightly armed troops who are expert in crowd control and law enforcement. The Italians have the *Carabinieri* and the Spanish have *La Guardia*.

The United States Army should add new division strength units to its forces especially trained for the duties of stability operations. The new force would number between 25,000 and 35,000 troops and be deployable anywhere in the world on seven days notice.

Open an Interagency U.S. Stability Operations Institute

Earlier this year, the Bush Administration discussed closing the only Peacekeeping Institute, at the U.S. Army War College in Carlisle, PA.²¹⁵ Our experiences in the Iraq and Afghanistan have shown that stabilizing a post-conflict society requires coordination between a wide range of military and civilian agencies.

The National Defense University and the State Department should work together to open a permanent “Stability Operations Institute,” which would involve all Services and relevant U.S. government agencies involved in reconstruction. The Institute would focus on the full spectrum operations taking place in weak and failed states such as peacekeeping, peace enforcement, humanitarian relief and restoration of law and order. Friendly states would be encouraged to participate.

PROMOTING DEMOCRATIC VALUES

Not one of the Arab states in the Middle East and North Africa (the original center of Islam) have governments that are chosen by their own people.²¹⁶ Divorced from accountability to their own people, every Arab government is also ranked in the bottom group of countries with a high Corruption Perception Index.²¹⁷ A result of this democracy deficit is growing anger amongst Arab populations against the status quo. Frustration is building against regimes that deny participation, stifle dissent and fail to provide the space for civil society to grow.

A dangerous trend is developing of non-democratic Arab states unable to provide any economic opportunity to an emerging youth populations. For the United States to recast its relationship with the Arab and Muslim world, for us not to lose a generation of Muslim youth to the siren call of al-Qaeda and other extremists, we must be on the side of change, not the failing status quo.

We have been down this road before and there is reason for hope. During the Cold War, the ossified communist regimes of Eastern Europe grew more and more distant from reflecting the will or understanding the aspirations of their peoples. The United States worked to promote the growth of civil society and pro-democratic groups in the repressed societies of the Warsaw Pact. The activists who received American support went on to lead a peaceful people power revolution that liberated millions from Vladivostok to the gates of Vienna.

Since 1989, the road to democracy has been marked in Eastern Europe by accomplishments such as:

- the advent of the separation of powers in government;
- the holding of free and fair elections;
- progress toward the creation of an independent judiciary;
- the emergence of a flourishing press;
- the articulation in new constitutions of fundamental human rights such as expression, religion, privacy and property;
- a dedication to the norms of international law through treaties and institutions such as the EU and NATO; and
- economic reform, including the dismantling of command economies and the growth of the private sector.²¹⁸

Promoting political reform in the Middle East and moving toward greater democracy, will help us to win the war on terror. Not only is promoting freedom consistent with our fundamental values, but it will enhance our security. We will reduce the ability of terrorists to strengthen their organizations if the United States is seen as a force for positive change rather than being aligned with governments that are not serving the best interests of their people.

Triple U.S. Support to the National Endowment for Democracy

The National Endowment for Democracy (NED) was created by Congress in 1983 as a non-profit corporation designed to build civil society and strengthen democratic institutions across the world. Its four major affiliated institutions, the National Democratic Institute, the International Republican Institute, Solidarity Center, and Center for International Private Enterprise, have

worked across the globe with countless civic organizations, political parties and parliamentarians. The goal is always the promotion of the citizen's voice in society, the creation of transparent and accountable structures of governance and the strengthening of democratic institutions.

The NED should now focus its attention on supporting moderate voices throughout the Arab / Muslim world through local NGO's and democracy activists. Additionally, the U.S. Government should triple its support for the National Endowment for Democracy and focus the approximately \$80 million increase on supporting the growth and development of representative institutions in the Arab world. Some examples would include aid to: assist independent media, build small business federations, support local human rights watchdog groups and aid democratic political movements.

NATIONAL SERVICE

After the attacks of September 11, volunteer organizations were overwhelmed by offers of support from the American people. In the face of adversity, Americans responded and were ready to answer the call. Unfortunately, since that time, the President has not taken the American people up on their offer of support. This is the first time in American history, when faced with a national crisis, nothing has been asked of the American people.

Defeating al-Qaeda, securing the homeland and preventing the rise of future terrorists will require the mobilization and commitment of the entire nation. It is time that we issue the call to service that Americans have been ready to answer since September 11.

Call For Service

Whenever our nation's future has been threatened, we have called on our young people to serve their country. In the past, this meant conscription into the military. Winning the war on terror requires many kinds of national service at home and abroad.

Upon graduation from high school, every young American should be encouraged to give at least one year in the service of their country. They would have the opportunity of choosing their preferred form of service from a list that will include: Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines, Coast Guard, Peace Corps, AmeriCorps, and hometown non-profit organizations. In return for their service, every young American will receive a salary of at least \$12,000 and a \$7,000 scholarship for further education.

Expand the Peace Corps

The best messengers of American values are those who go abroad in service to humanity. The United States should more than double the capacity of the Peace Corps, with particular emphasis on missions to Arab and Muslim nations.

Create a Civilian Reserve for Homeland Security

Every American citizen should have the opportunity to register with the Department of Homeland Security for a newly created "Civilian Reserve" which could be used to mobilize the skills and talents of the American people in a time of crisis. The database would include contact information on the individuals, and their relevant skills.

In time of a crisis, particular Civilian Reservists would be asked to respond to a "call to service" and be available for a deployment of up to three months. Americans of all ages would be encouraged to enlist. They would receive the same benefits during that service as members of the National Guard.

Conclusion

In the 21st century, America faces its greatest responsibility and its greatest challenge – the preservation of liberal democracy, individual liberty, and more fundamentally, the survival of civilization. Those who distort Islamic belief and claim divine reward for suicide missions killing innocent civilians must be met with even greater force and conviction. As we vigorously engage our enemies, we must protect against their efforts by securing the homeland and preparing for response in the event our defenses prove inadequate. And finally, to emerge victorious from this conflict, we must be bold and innovative in our actions to stem the rise of future terrorists.

The thoughts and ideas in this document illustrate the significant commitment that will be required to win the war on terror. The cost is high and there is little room for error, but the cost of failure is incalculable.

May this generation of Americans be united in this great cause and be ever mindful that it is our commitment to freedom, justice, and equality that gives us the strength to prevail. For over 200 years Americans have been on the right side of history. With the proper strategy, enlightened leadership, and the enduring strength of the American people, we will again succeed.